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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

Willing Hearts and Skilled Hands

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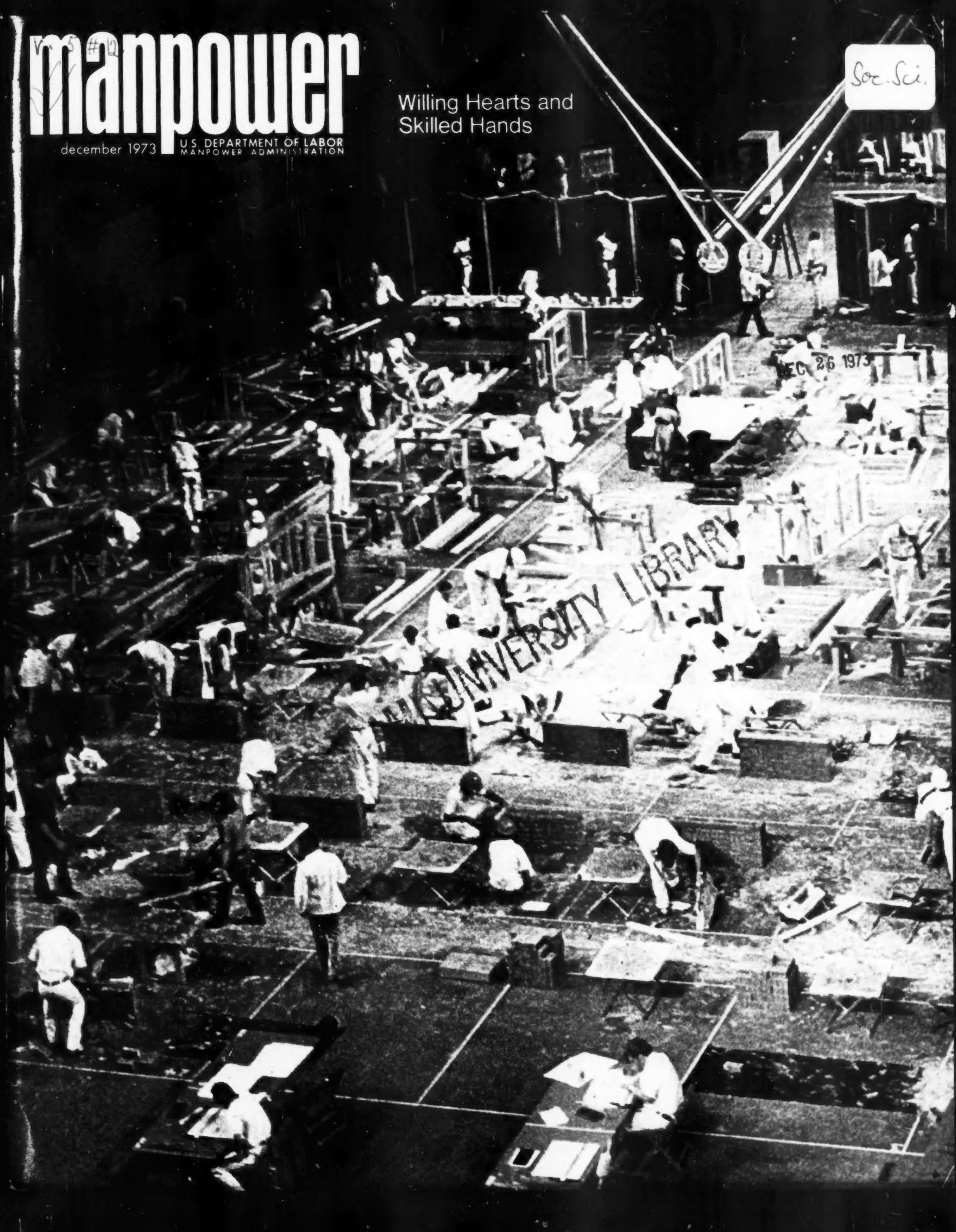

manpower
volume 5 number 12
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

There Have Been Some Changes Made

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.

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Since the labor market consequences of the 1965 changes in the immigration law were an unforeseen byproduct rather than an intentional result of the new regulations, they fall into the category of side effects. There is nothing unique in this situation. Often there are unanticipated manpower implications in new and seemingly unrelated policies as well as new technology. That is why the Labor Department is seeking ways to foresee the human resources consequences of national policy. This effort constitutes a *Search for Manpower Side Effects,* and the hunt begins on page 16.

Ellis Rottman

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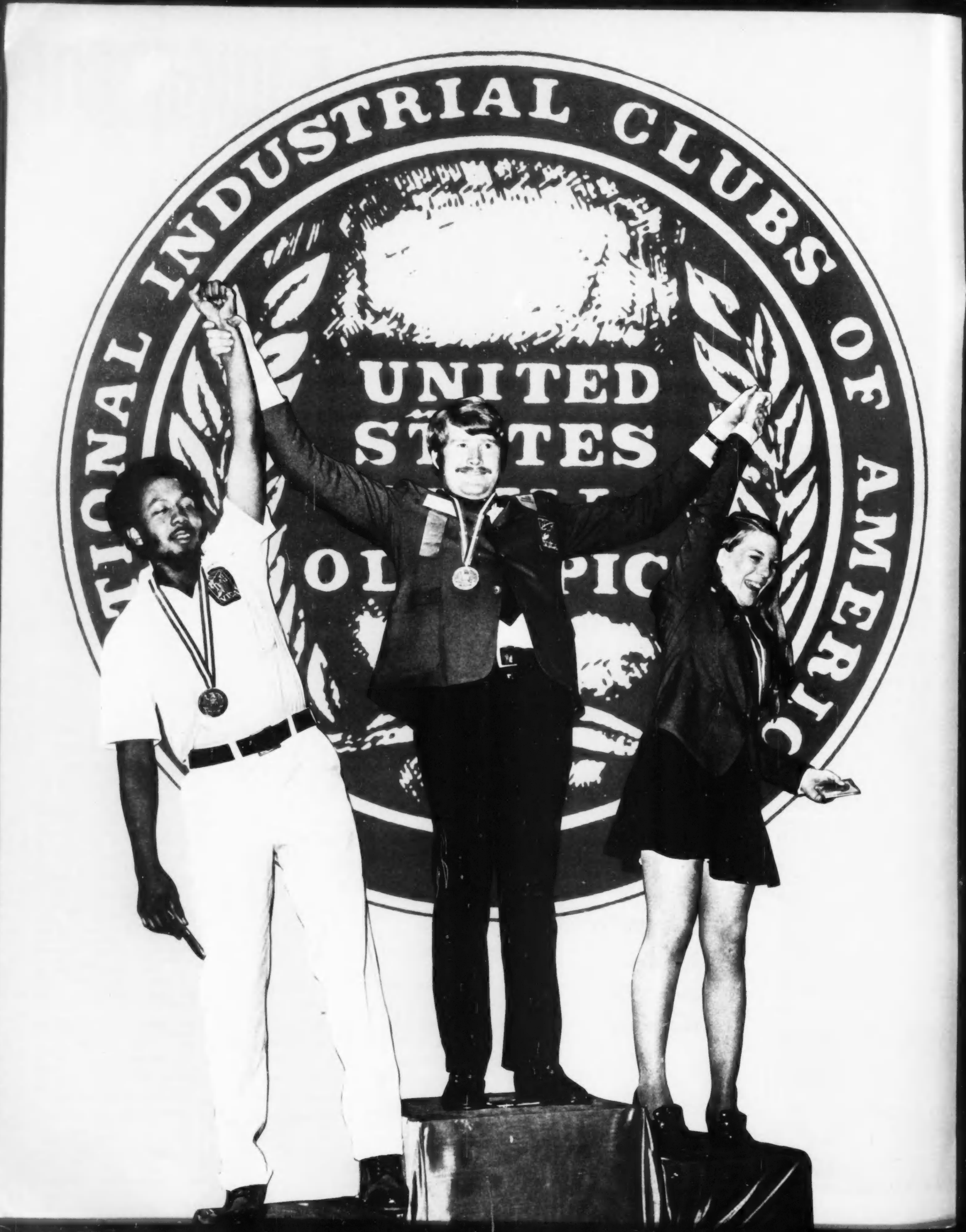
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Willing Hearts and Skilled Hands

Vocational Industrial Clubs Of America Build Image Of Trade Education And Its Students

by Patricia Marshall

Once more in our history, the Redcoats are Coming!

This time around, the troops are from the United States. They are high school or postsecondary school students who belong to the Vocational Industrial Clubs of America (VICA). Part of their official club dress is a red blazer, sweater, or windbreaker. It is worn with the VICA emblem over the heart. This is a patch bearing a shield for patriotism, a torch for learning, orbiting lines for modern technology, a gear to represent industrial society, and outstretched hands to show youth reaching for skills and knowledge.

VICA is still in its infancy, with only about 152,000 members, most of them in high school, out of a potential membership of about 2.4 million T & I education students—those who take trade, industrial, technical, and health occupations courses. The organization was set up in 1965 after several years of effort by vocational educators to establish a national club network for these students. It is modeled along somewhat the same lines as the well established clubs in other vocational fields, such as the Future Farmers of America and the Distributive Education Clubs of America, and it has as its goals the development of character and leadership potential as well as work skills.

The need for an organization like VICA was summed up recently by Thomas C. Samuels, director of technical training for the National Institute for Automotive Service Excellence and a strong VICA supporter, who said:

"So often, when you ask kids in trade and industry classes what they're specializing in, they answer you like failures. They hang down their heads, mutter so you can hardly hear them, and sound ashamed when they tell you, 'I'm in plumbing,' or 'I'm in the auto shop.'

"The heck with that!" Samuels declared. "They should be proud of it!" Samuels, who said he likes to spell "higher education" as "hire education," has found that VICA creates pride in craftsmanship and self-assurance among T & I students. He said these are big plusses in changing the attitudes of industry, school administrators, and other students about the worth of trade and industry training and the students who sign up for it.

The propulsive force behind VICA is a young national staff of a dozen people in Washington, D.C. It is headed by Larry Johnson, a former North Carolina vocational teacher and State T & I administrator who was one of the organizers of VICA before becoming its executive director. Johnson says that until VICA came on the scene there was little emphasis placed on giving T & I students anything but occupational skills.

He thinks this approach no longer works well in vocational education. "Today's students are a new breed," Johnson says. "They are less interested in making money for its own sake than earlier generations were and they don't need craft skills in order to get a job.

"Youth today are sick and tired of the idea of earning money just to buy something like a second car. And they certainly don't care at all about boosting the gross national product. But kids do buy the idea that they can harness their creativity by developing a skill. With a skill, they can do a lot to meet the needs of other people.

"As students, they are already expressing their concern for others. We've got

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Patricia Marshall is assistant editor of MANPOWER.

Postsecondary student winners of the Skill Olympics' offset printing contest join hands in a victors' salute. Winners in all contests get an engraved medallion.

big strapping boys who go out and spend Saturday afternoons reading the newspaper to old people who can't see. We have kids in radio and TV repair classes who fix all the broken-down sets in old folks' homes. Not only does this contribute to human needs in their communities—it also builds character.

"We believe that students in VICA are learning how to live successfully," Johnson says. "And we also believe that learning to live successfully is just as important as learning to make a living."

Johnson says that VICA's broad approach to vocational education and its infusion of idealism about the importance of skilled workers in our society builds esteem for the crafts and enables students to respect themselves as beginning craftsmen and women.

The VICA philosophy that you serve yourself best when you serve others permeates much of the club's activities and publications. The VICA members' handbook, for example, stresses ethics rather than the work ethic, which in recent years has been the subject of much adult concern:

"You're thinking about standards and values—what's right and what isn't and what makes *character,*" the handbook says. "Ethics have a lot to do with your future as a working citizen. They have a lot to do with you as a person.

"You have the opportunity to make the most of your life, starting *now.*"

Students Get Guidebook

The handbook also challenges T & I students to abandon any ideas they might have that our frontiers are gone. The frontiers and challenges for today's youth, VICA says, are ignorance, poverty, space, and the preservation of our democratic processes. To meet such challenges, the publication suggests that the moral virtues that were treasured by Benjamin Franklin—among them, order, resolution, frugality, industry, and justice—still are useful guides for personal behavior.

Students who join VICA also get a guidebook which tells them about the club's "National Program of Work." This program is made up of a number of goals adopted by students when VICA was formed. Now the basis for all club activities, it indicates a strong desire to achieve higher status for vocational education and to broaden the background of vocational students. Among the goals it sets out for VICA members are:

- To gain understanding of T & I studies among fellow students, teachers, and people in the community.
- To make known a "critical need" for qualified T & I teachers, and to encourage capable students to enter this field.
- To help each VICA member begin a personal program of self-improvement by encouraging scholarship, citizenship, and participation in club service activities.
- To promote safety and to reduce the number of school and shop accidents.

Like other student clubs, VICA expands the supply of leadership opportunities and experiences for high school youth and also offers a number of special honors and awards.

The road to success in VICA is paved with hard work. To earn the club's Industrial Degree, members must demonstrate good work habits and proficiency in their trade. To get its Leader Degree, they must learn the structure of local, State, and Federal governments; bone up on parliamentary procedures; serve their school

Skilled Hands

Vocational teachers interested in starting a VICA club at their school were told how at a 5-day conference held at the General Motors Training Center in Fairfax, Va. The 45 teachers from five Mideastern States and the District of Columbia who attended the conference received college credit for their participation.

and community in some way; and work to improve their communications skills, chiefly that of public speaking. As the student progresses toward these honors, he earns new ranks and insignia on the way which encourage him to continue. The steps leading to the leadership award, for example, are the ranks of citizen, committeeman, leader, and patriot, while those for the industrial award are the ranks of trainee, operator, specialist, and expert.

Students earning both degrees qualify for the American Degree. When they have completed training and are employed, they can earn the International Industrial Degree. By demanding a broad band of skills and achievement, these pinnacles of success in VICA reflect the basic philosophy of the organization that vocational education should turn out good citizens and leaders as well as able technicians.

But there is one sector in VICA where craft skills matter most. This is in the Skill Olympics, now an annual event which pits student against student and club against club for winning places, trophies, and frequently for expensive tools awarded by industry.

Last summer there were 22 Olympic events for secondary students and the same number in the postsecondary division which tested students strictly in such vocational areas as architectural drafting, auto mechanics, carpentry, offset printing, and the like. Only a few contests reflected VICA's broader interests. In these, students sought prizes for their abilities in making extemporaneous and prepared speeches and running club business meetings. There also were outstanding club events in which community service was one of the factors judged.

To enter the Skill Olympics, students first have to win local and State contests. There is no tabulation of the number of persons who take part in local meets, but this year 25,000 entered VICA's State contests. Most students who win these and go on to battle for prizes at the national level are competition-wise as well as highly skilled. Generally, they are prepared for the tough tasks, high standards, and speed requirements set for Olympians.

Larry Johnson considers the Skill Olympics a VICA showcase. It gives union and industry leaders a national, organized presentation of the high quality workmanship T & I education is capable of turning out. Also, vocational educators who attend these hard-fought competitions can compare the quality of their students' work with that of students elsewhere in the Nation.

Speed, Accuracy Required

Kenneth Edwards, director of skill improvement training for the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), thinks the contests and other features of the VICA program help vocational students stay in touch with the real world. He cites the case of an electrical trades contestant who was disqualified at last summer's Olympics after he broke a part he needed.

"The boy was very unhappy about goofing up his project," Edwards says. "But he learned that he has to take better care of tools and other equipment. This will be especially important when he is out on a service truck and doesn't have replacements for what he breaks."

Students at the Olympics are not told in advance what they will be asked to do in skill events. To win, they need a wide and flexible knowledge of their trade, and they must be able to work quickly and accurately. A budding auto mechanic who is a whiz on front-end work may find that he must repair a car's transmission or solve a problem in its electrical system rather than show what he can do best. In any case, all of the tasks which confront the contestants are needed by the industry into which students are heading. Sponsors from industry and unions supply much of the contest equipment, advice, and prizes, and help VICA keep its events relevant to marketplace needs.

At the Olympics held in Tulsa last summer, support of this sort was provided by such labor-management sources as the TELEX Corporation, IBEW, General Motors, the Brick Institute of America, and the Equipment and Tool Institute. Some of the support was extensive as in the case of General Motors, which paid all costs for auto mechanics contestants and their teachers in both the high school and postsecondary divisions and provided all equipment for the auto events, plus trophies and tool kits for the winners.

The IBEW also has contributed much to the success of these skill trials, VICA executives say. This union helped set up the industrial electronics and electrical trades contests in Tulsa, provided equipment, and gave textbooks to the winners.

Organized labor needs the kind of linkage VICA provides to youth who are entering the trades, the IBEW's Edwards says. He feels that VICA's development of leadership is particularly important to his union because the median age of IBEW membership has been dropping and is now about 27. Many of the new business managers of its locals, unlike the seasoned workers who traditionally have had these jobs, are in their twenties or early thirties.

Edwards also gives a great deal of credit to VICA for opening up channels of communication between schools and the world of work.

"Only too often, labor and management have looked upon vocational programs as being little more than a dumping ground for potential dropouts," he says.

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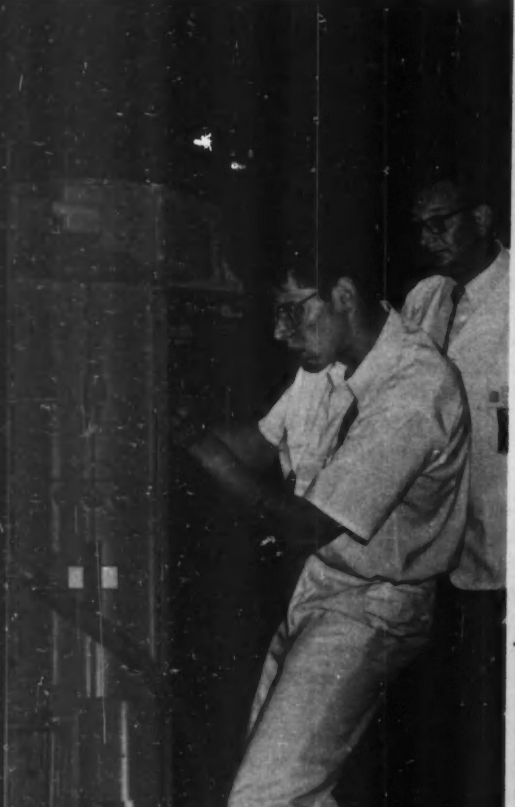

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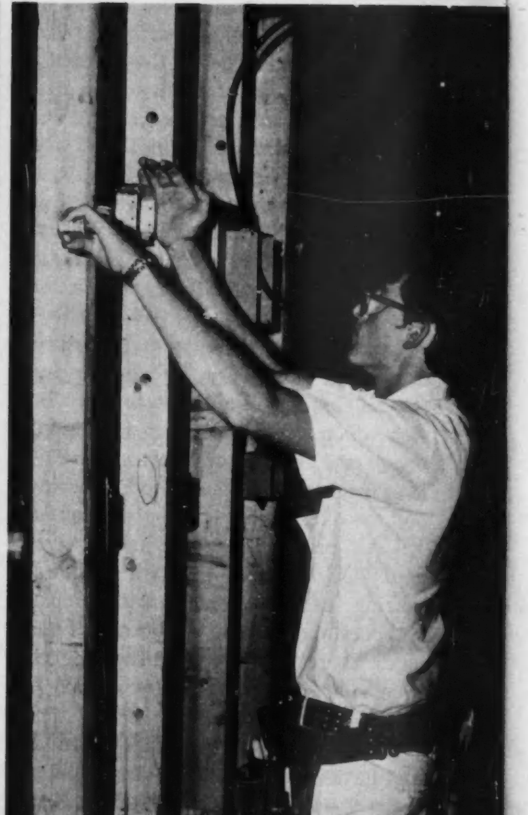


"Through VICA we are learning about needs for teachers, relevant courses, and ways that we can help."

He cites an example in one State where VICA members learned through contacts with industry that TV repair, which was being taught in a number of schools, is now a field saturated with manpower. As a result of this information, the schools replaced such courses with others in industrial electronics, a field with a better job outlook. Currently, Edwards is concerned about the number of courses being offered in residential electrical work, for which the job market is poor. At the same time, he notes, there are some employers in certain parts of the country who are begging for maintenance electricians. He hopes that, through his work with VICA, he can get messages of this nature across to teachers and into vocational classrooms across the country.

Better Mechanics Wanted

The need for better communication with schools also fuels much of Thomas Samuels' interest in VICA. Samuels, who is a member of the VICA State Advisory Council in Virginia, has spent most of his working life in the auto industry and is now working on behalf of the entire industry to lift the quality of auto mechanics instruction so that mechanics are able to meet national standards of competency developed by the automotive institute.

"We have a large and delicate industry with a great consumer problem," Samuels points out. "By 1980, there will be about $12.3 billion worth of service done on automobiles in the U.S. People are—and should be—concerned about the kind of service they are getting on their cars. But out of more than a million auto mechanics in this country, many have only marginal skills. In a dealership with 10 mechanics, only about 2 are likely to be certified by the institute."

Samuels believes that the starting point for change is in our schools, and he hopes to enlist VICA as an ally in making auto mechanics instruction all that he thinks it should be. Many school automotive classes simply are hobby shops in which the students play around with auto parts and accessories, Samuels says. He finds support for this opinion in surveys showing that less than 15 percent of the students who took auto shop in high school became auto mechanics or ever intended to enter the field. He feels that our schools cannot continue to support an expensive hobby when the needs of youth for work and the needs of his industry for skilled mechanics are so great.

Counseling and teaching are other areas seriously needing attention, he says. Too often, he finds school counselors don't know that students with less than sixth grade reading ability will have trouble becoming qualified mechanics. In auto shop classes, students must read and understand highly technical material, and when employed, must be able to learn rapidly from printed materials as they keep up with changes in the mechanical design of cars. As for auto mechanics teachers, Samuels claims that too few come out of the industry or are able to meet tests developed by his institute to certify competency in the trade.

VICA can help iron out such problems at many different levels, its supporters say. Locally, the youth in red coats are speaking to chambers of commerce and other civic groups about T & I education. This should create better community understanding of T & I, its needs, and its willingness to draw on technical expertise from skilled craftsmen and businessmen in the trades. Donald Thomas, vocational teacher and VICA coordinator at the Central Kansas Area Vocational and Technical School in Hutchinson, says that as a result of persuasive efforts by club members in his postsecondary school, a local hospital now saves some summer training positions for students taking nurse aide, inhalation therapy, and other health courses. The VICA chapter, he says, is extremely active and has won the State outstanding club award for 4 years in a row and last summer placed third in the national Olympics.

In some communities, Thomas Samuels has found, there are now auto dealers who sponsor VICA clubs, advise auto mechanics teachers on their instructional programs, give auto mechanics students T shirts bearing their company's name, donate cars for students to work on, pay the way of local skill champions to State competitions, and hire some students in summer and regular jobs. When one dealer does this, Samuels says, the competitive spirit of other dealers in the community often leads them to follow suit.

Outside Links Stressed

Like other vocational clubs, VICA also draws strength from its strong organizational ties with State departments of education, whose vocational divisions administer the VICA programs. In effect, this builds club activities into T & I planning and instruction. Otherwise, VICA might be relegated to the role of a social fellowship for after-school hours. Each participating State also has an advisory council with people from industry, labor, and vocational education who meet in the common cause of strengthening school programs so that they meet manpower needs. Today, there are only four States without a VICA affiliation, chiefly because they lack the staff to take on club responsibilities, VICA executive Larry Johnson says.

Nationally, VICA is forming many links to connect T & I education with business, unions, policymakers, and legislators. Its governing body, made up of State T & I supervisors and representatives of

YOUR HIGH SCHOOL
ANYWHERE, U.S.A.

Dear Parents of our Graduates:

As you are aware, one of your offspring was graduated from our high school this June. Since that time, it has been brought to our attention that certain insufficiencies are present in our graduates, so we are recalling all students for further education.

We have learned that in the process of the instruction we provided, we forgot to install one or more of the following:

- *At least one salable skill.*
- *A comprehensive and utilitarian set of values.*
- *A readiness for and understanding of the responsibilities of citizenship.*

A recent consumer study consisting of the followup of our graduates has revealed that many of them have been released with defective parts. Racism and materialism are serious flaws and we have discovered they are a part of the makeup of almost all our products. These defects have been determined to be of such magnitude that the model produced in June is considered highly dangerous and should be removed from circulation as a hazard to the Nation.

Some of the equipment which was in the past classified as optional has been reclassified as standard and should be a part of every product of our school. Therefore, we plan to equip each graduate with:

- *A desire to continue to learn.*
- *A dedication to solving problems of local, national, and international concern.*
- *Several productive ways to use leisure time.*
- *A commitment to the democratic way of life.*
- *Extensive contact with the world outside the school.*
- *Experience in making decisions.*

In addition, we found we had inadvertently removed from your child his interest, enthusiasm, motivation, thrust, and joy. We are sorry to report that these items have been mislaid and have not been turned in at the Lost and Found Department. If you will inform us as to the value you place on these qualities, we will reimburse you promptly by check or cash.

As you can see, it is in your interest, and vitally necessary for your safety and the welfare of all, that graduates be returned so that these errors and oversights can be corrected. We admit that it would have been more effective and less costly in time and money to have turned out the product correctly in the first place, but we hope you will forgive our error and continue to respect and support your public school.

Thomas Samuels

Thomas C. Samuels is director of technical training for the National Institute for Automotive Service Excellence, an industry effort to improve the training and capabilities of automobile mechanics. A dedicated friend of VICA and of vocational education generally, Samuels prepared the above statement to use in his frequent meetings with educators. By employing humor which draws on experiences in the industry he knows best, Samuels says he hopes to support the efforts of vocational educators to upgrade and update the training they offer their students.

the U.S. Office of Education and the American Vocational Association, uses an advisory committee whose expertise is largely outside the field of education. There also are student executive councils, elected annually to represent VICA's secondary and postsecondary divisions. They advise the organization's adult leadership and proselytize at national conferences of trade associations, international unions, and wherever else there are important sources of support for trade and industrial education. ("The kids in red coats can sell the program better than we can," is a reigning opinion of the effectiveness of these student leaders among the adults who are interested in VICA.)

Staff Conducts Workshop

Then there is the national VICA staff. Director Johnson is described by some observers as a master of the art of winning friends and influencing people on behalf of trade and industrial education. This staff holds workshops for T & I administrators and for student leaders, produces publications and ideas for student projects, lines up support for the Skill Olympics, helps clubs to organize, and in general serves as the foundation for the entire VICA edifice. This year, a major staff achievement was the acceptance of VICA's application to represent this country at the International Vocational Training Competition, an annual event with contestants from 20 nations. VICA plans to enter students in some 11 of the trade skill contests at next year's meet in Lisbon, the first time that the 24-year-old competition will have had U.S. representation.

Such questions as how to mesh T & I studies with apprenticeships is another national VICA concern. Even the best school courses turn out seasoned students rather than seasoned journeymen who have coped with on-the-job problems of their trade and have reached productive levels of work, Johnson is careful to point out. At the same time, high school graduates may have had as many as 1,000 hours of training in a trade and may be well past the level of beginning apprentices.

"We are trying to link organized labor with vocational educators, and to develop close working relations with apprenticeship programs all over the country," Johnson says. "Certainly, we can't claim that all vocational programs or all graduates are at the same level of competence, but we do ask that students be evaluated and given credit for what they already know. In a great many cases, this may mean apprenticeships shortened by as much as a year."

Hugh Murphy, administrator of the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, sees the youth in VICA as an important resource for apprenticeship programs. He agrees with Johnson that they still have a distance to go before their skills rank with those of journeymen, but he is impressed with their will to work, their eagerness to learn, and the skill levels they already have reached. Further, they have sized up their assets and liabilities for a trade, Murphy says, and as a result they are less likely to drop out because they don't like the work—an expensive and wasteful practice for employers who invest in apprentices.

Many of the strengths of youth in VICA, it appears, stem from the conscious effort of their organization to develop the maturity of T & I students and not only skill capabilities. Last spring, a panel on youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee concluded in its report, *Youth: Transition to Adulthood*, that this kind of broad approach is essential if youth are to be prepared for life.

"The objectives to which environments for youth should be addressed consist of two broad classes," the report says. "One is essentially self-centered. It concerns the acquisition of skills that expand the personal resources, and thus the opportunity of a young person. Schools have traditionally focused upon this class of objectives, and often narrowly so within this class. But a second class of objectives is important as well, in which youth is centered on others rather than self. This class concerns the responsibilities affecting other persons. Only with the experience of such responsibilities can youth move toward the mutually responsible and mutually rewarding involvement with others that constitutes social maturity. . . .

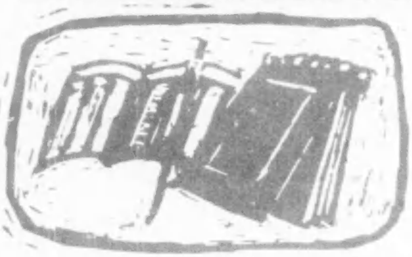
"The emergent adult faces an increasingly complex world, in which self-direction and self-management are prerequisites to success. The current environments imposed on youth by schools provide little experience with self-management, in large part because, where there is little freedom of choice, there is little self-responsibility."

Commitment Weakened

The authors take the position that adult-sponsored youth organizations have had goals covering most of the objectives of environments for youth other than cognitive skills. However, they conclude that many of these groups are now suffering from confusion of purpose, having "experienced a weakening of their original commitment to the value of crafts or nature study (this apparently is a reference to scouting) as ways to build character without having settled on a new set of goals."

VICA—a small organization with a long way to go—may be reopening some old, but overgrown, pathways that lead from childhood into the world of responsible adults. □

News & Notes



The Department of Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) and the Manpower Administration are working together to make standardized packets of local work force data available to contractors across the country who are required to develop affirmative action plans for increasing employment opportunities of minority and women workers. The data for Federal contractors will be developed area by area by the State employment security agencies following guidelines established by the Labor Department. The area information packets will be made available to contractors upon request. To be furnished without cost to contractors by the State agencies, the packets will contain recent information on: Population and labor force data by sex and minority status; employment status by sex and minority status; occupations of employed persons by sex and minority status; last occupations of experienced, unemployed workers by sex and minority status; and occupational characteristics of job applicants at public employment offices by sex and minority status.

* * *

Indians are the poorest minority group in the Nation, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Median income in 1969 for American Indian families was $5,832 compared with the national median of $9,590. Among Indian families, 40 percent lived on incomes below the poverty level compared with a 14-percent rate for all U.S. families and 32 percent for black families. The report is based on the most extensive analysis it has ever made of Indian characteristics, the Census Bureau says. The analysis, based on 1970 census data, shows that the Indian population is younger and growing faster than our population as a whole. The median age of Indians was 20, compared with a national median of 28, and the Indian population increased 51 percent in the 1960's, while the entire population grew only 13 percent.

* * *

Eighty welfare recipients will be trained for clerical jobs in the transportation industry by the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) under the first national contract involving the Manpower Administration's Work Incentive (WIN) Program and a labor union.

Women throughout the Nation are breaking into apprenticeships that once were exclusive male preserves. Baltimore has its first female machinist apprentice and Boulder, Colo., its first woman plumber apprentice. Other local "firsts" for women apprentices include a carpenter in Sacramento, Calif., and a roofer in Spokane, Wash.

* * *

Detailed information about apprenticeship--in English and Spanish--is provided in a new Manpower Administration pamphlet. Entitled Apprentice Training--Sure Way to a Skilled Craft or Instruccion Para Aprendices, La Forma Segura de Llegar a Tener un Oficio Especializado, the pamphlet describes good jobs in the high-paying skilled trades available to young men and women through apprenticeship. It describes the opportunities available in more than 350 apprenticeable trades and the qualifications and the number of years of training required. Single copies of the pamphlet are available from the Office of Information, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210.

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An estimated 30,000 students attending 288 health professions schools will receive either a Federal loan or scholarship or both in the 1973-74 school year, according to the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Schools determine which students get Federal aid and how much.

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A veterans' "hotline" established by the Minnesota State employment service early in 1972 has produced almost 1,900 job listings. The hotline is used by employers with job openings and veterans seeking work.

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An estimated 3,000 minority trainees can be enrolled in programs supported by $5 million in Special Health Career Opportunity Grants awarded in fiscal 1973 by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to institutions and organizations in 21 States and the District of Columbia. The grants are aimed at increasing the number of minority physicians, dentists, and other health professionals.

Staff and Distaff: Why Women Work

by Sue Ghozeil

"You may need shorthand to land a job, young lady—but don't expect to ever have to use it."

"You're most likely to get a job by sticking to 'women's work'—nursing, teaching, being a secretary or waitress."

"If you have children under 5, your best choice economically may be to stay home."

Red flags to the women's liberation movement? Probably. But these warnings are based on the findings of a series of studies funded by the Manpower Administration. The researchers do not advocate the views expressed above. But their research indicates that a person giving such

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Sue Ghozeil prepared this article as part of a Manpower Administration-funded project by University of Arizona graduate students. The project was designed to expand the use of manpower research by presenting findings in the most effective way.

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Staff and Distaff

'The biggest factor in a wife's decision to work . . . is children.'

advice to a woman would not be misleading her about the work situation for women at the start of the 1970's.

Their studies probed some economic, educational, and attitudinal factors that make a woman choose to work and influence her specific job choice. While these studies may paint a grim picture of the way things are, they also provide facts which suggest ways to change the picture.

The studies were part of a series of long-term studies of the labor market experiences of four groups: Men 45 to 59 years old, women 30 to 44, and (separately) young men and women 14 to 24. Researchers at Ohio State University's Center for Human Resource Research conducted the studies under a contract with the Manpower Administration. Using information collected by the Bureau of the Census, in questionnaires and personal interviews, the researchers were able to examine the unique manpower problems of the groups mentioned. Primary results of their work have been reported in a series of Manpower Administration research monographs and reports and in a number of articles in this journal.

The researchers looked again at their data, however, to test particular theories about, for example, women and work: Women 30 to 44 face problems as they reenter the labor market when their home responsibilities permit. For young women, the main considerations are related to occupational choice and preparation for work, and the often difficult transition from school to work.

Money factors, as might be expected, influence a woman's job decisions in a number of ways. Married women in their thirties to midforties, for example, are more likely to work if family income (without their own salary) is low. Each $100 increase in a family's yearly income is associated with a small drop (less than a quarter of 1 percent) in the likelihood of the wife seeking or holding a job, and a similar drop in the number of weeks she works or seeks work in a year. For white wives, family income also is related in this fashion to the number of hours worked per week. No such relationship was found for blacks.

For white wives even a relatively high family income may be inadequate and act as an impetus for seeking work. It has been found that if a husand's salary is lower than that of other men of his age and education, his wife is more likely to be working—bringing their income up to, or above, the average. For instance, say Smith is an engineer with a college degree, in his midforties. He may be earning an income well above the national norm, but if it's much below the average for engineering graduates his age, Mrs. Smith may want to go to work so they can afford some of the comforts their peers enjoy. In other words, at least for one group of women, "keeping up with the Joneses" is a real and measurable phenomenon.

Pay Affects Work Decision

In deciding whether to work, women aged 30 to 44 at all levels of the economic scale are affected by the availability of jobs and the wages being offered. Specifically, for each additional 50 cents per hour a woman can earn in a job, she is 6 percent (for whites) or 3.5 percent (for blacks) more likely to look for or hold a job. A former grocery checkout clerk is more likely to look for a job if she hears clerk wages in town have gone up from $2.50 to $3.00 an hour.

Increases in possible wages have a similar effect on the number of weeks in the year a woman will be in the labor force and the number of hours per week she will work. Among women aged 18 to 24, wage considerations also play a part in job choice—drawing them away from low-paying "women's work" (maids, waitresses, teachers) to less typically feminine vocations.

At the lower end of the economic scale, women in the 30 to 44 age bracket consider wages and jobs available in choosing between work and welfare. Receiving welfare payments reduces the likelihood of poor white women entering the labor force and increases the wage rate sought by those—blacks especially—who say they would, or might, accept a job offer. This makes economic sense. If the State pays a woman $5,000 a year to stay home and take care of her children, she would need a job paying considerably more than that to wind up with even the same amount of income, after taxes and child-care costs were subtracted.

Another economic decision peculiar to women on welfare concerns what might be called the heavy tax the welfare system places on earned income. The "implicit tax rate" is the rate at which welfare benefits are reduced as the family receives other income. Welfare payments are made only to people whose income falls below a certain level, which depends in part on the number of children at home, physical disabilities, and other limiting factors.

As income increases beyond that level—the figure varies from State to State—welfare benefits decrease substantially or stop. For example, under the conditions of the original Family Assistance Plan, the first $840 per year of earned income was to be "tax free" for any family size. However, with further increases in income, benefits were to be reduced 50 cents for each $1.00 of nonwelfare income—a "tax" of 50 percent. Women on welfare must weigh such loss of benefits against their prospective earnings from working.

Generally, among middle class women the amount of their potential wages had

greater impact on labor force participation than did family income. Among lower income women family income was more important than their potential earnings. They tended to take whatever they could earn in the jobs available.

The biggest factor in a wife's decision to work—more important than family income, husband's attitude, education, or the going wage—is children. The number, age, and school status of a woman's children influence her decision to seek a job, stay home, or, perhaps, go on welfare.

Researchers have developed the concept of "home wage." While this has not been converted to a dollar value for the wife's work in the home, it does offer one measure of how difficult it would be for her to leave home. Specifically, it is based on two assumptions: (1) preschoolers increase a mother's housework; (2) having two children is less than twice as burdensome as having one.

Based on these assumptions, weights are assigned to express the relative amounts of work associated with having preschoolers, grade schoolers, or teenagers. For example, a woman with one toddler at home is considered to have her hands about as full as a mother of three children ages 5 to 14. Neither of these two women is considered very likely to be working full time outside the home.

In general, ages of children appear more important than the total number of children. Even so, each additional child in a family makes a woman 5 percent less likely to be on a job or seeking one. Conversely, every year added to her youngest child's age increases a mother's likelihood of going after or hanging on to a job by 2 to 3 percentage points. Wives who have no children are, on the average, twice as likely as other women to be in the labor force. While poor women are more likely than nonpoor to remain in the labor force after they have children, poor mothers of children under 6 work fewer hours than those whose youngest children are over 6.

Until mothers reach their midthirties, their family size is likely to be increasing so they are not likely to be working outside the home. But after age 35, as their youngest children reach school age, and later as their household shrinks in size, growing numbers of women rejoin the labor force.

It was found that the number of children a family has is strongly related to the husband's occupational status. Timing

'As might be expected, atypical jobs were quite diverse—draftsmen, insurance agents, bartenders, welders, paid farm laborers, to name a few.'

of childbearing was related to income, more than occupation. When the husband was earning more than the average for his job and education, children were more closely spaced.

Timing—but not number—of children also was related to the husband's education. If the husband had more education than his wife, the couple was likely to start and finish childbearing somewhat later. In addition, the wife in her thirties or early forties was less likely to work outside the home. This would fit the pattern of "putting hubby through"—when a young wife works while her husband attends school, and family plans are often put off until he is established in his career.

A wife's education affected both family size and timing of children. With increased education, wives not only had smaller families, but they also had their children over a shorter time period.

From the array of specific relationships, two emerged strongly. Higher status occupation of the wife or her mother was associated with markedly higher work rates, but higher status occupation of the husband was associated with lower work rates for wife. And, in general, the higher the husband's status, the smaller the family.

These are relationships, not answers. What happens to mothers of large families and mothers with young children?

New and better jobs may be opening up for women, but married women with children are unlikely to get them unless other sources of child care become more readily available. One of the Ohio State studies showed that having grandma in the home increases the likelihood that mother will be out working. Another study found that, when grandparents are not present, poor mothers prefer informal neighborhood child care arrangements to day care centers. It suggested that rather than subsidize more centers, the Government should consider subsidizing child care through a voucher system that would permit mothers to pay directly for child care arrangements of their choice.

Beyond the tangibles of money and babies, other factors enter into a woman's work decision. Some of these are hard to pin down, because they concern a woman's attitudes toward working wives and mothers, toward "a woman's place."

A number of the studies discussed here included interviews with women in their thirties to midforties to find out their own attitudes toward working mothers and their perceptions of their husbands' attitudes toward wives who work. The studies found that married women who looked favorably on the working mother with young children were more likely to be in the labor force than those who disapproved. However, the relationship was much stronger for white women than for blacks. This may indicate that work is a matter of necessity rather than choice more often for black women than for white.

A similar pattern was found when women's perceptions of their husbands' attitudes were compared with their own work records. For whites, strong approval from the husband was associated with more active participation in the labor force; for blacks the correspondence was not so great. Again, this difference may reflect financial necessity.

Education—not only at school, but at home, in the church, and in the community—may include training in useful job skills. It also may include a hidden curriculum of attitudes and ideas related to work—that certain jobs are or are not women's work; that a mother belongs at home with her children; that a man should be able to support his wife and keep her at home; or that it is wrong to have no children, or many children.

Researchers found that, in general, increased education was associated with greater propensity for seeking work. This finding held true for both a sample of the female population at large (1960 census data, and a 1967 survey of work experience of women aged 30 to 44) and a sample of only poor women.

One of the seven studies tried to determine the usefulness to women of job training in the specific areas of typing and shorthand. Researchers examined the work records of more than 2,000 women aged 30 to 44 with training in either or both of these areas.

Atypical Jobs Listed

Women with typing or shorthand skills—or both—are more likely than other women to have clerical jobs, a category including secretarial and sales work. Many more whites than blacks have such training—86 percent of the white high school graduates had studied at least one of these skills compared with 54 percent of the black graduates. Fifty-six percent of the white women had training in both skills, versus 19 percent of the black women.

The study also indicated that many women with clerical jobs who have studied shorthand are never called upon to use this skill. Taken together, these facts suggest that shorthand training is often made a "requirement" for entry into clerical jobs for which it is unnecessary—a requirement more readily met by white than by black graduates.

Another of the studies looked for relationships between education and general types of jobs held by women aged 18 to 24. Based on information on more than 2,000 women, job descriptions were sorted into typical occupations—where women filled 33 percent or more of the jobs—and atypical if the figure was less than that. (Thirty-three percent was picked as a cutoff because, in the 1960 census, 33 percent of the labor force were women. In fact, over half the women working at the time of that census were in occupations where women filled 70 percent or more of the jobs.)

As might be expected, atypical jobs were quite diverse—draftsmen, insurance agents, bartenders, welders, paid farm laborers, to name a few. The main thing they had in common was that they were not traditionally associated with the feminine role.

What was it that led the women to choose atypical jobs? Was it related to how many years of schooling they had? How educated their mothers were? Whether they lived in a city or rural area? How much they might have read as children?

In general, less educated women and women with less educated mothers were more likely than others to be in atypical jobs. Of course, this is not the whole story: Female physics professors and technical programers are also atypical. Having an atypical occupation has an entirely different meaning for a white girl with a high school diploma than it does for a black woman with no diploma or a college graduate of either of these races. Among white women, typical occupations were in clerical and sales jobs. For blacks, typical work was in clerical and nonhousehold service positions. Among both blacks and whites holding atypical jobs, almost half were operatives. For white women, professional and technical work ranked second among atypical positions; for blacks, it was farmwork.

Education in schools and the learning of social customs at home did have some influence on occupational choice, but the results were not clear cut. However, they do suggest that more career areas should be viewed as open to women and that women should be made more aware of career possibilities beyond the traditional women's work.

Traditionally in our society men must seek work. But women—particularly married women—often can decide whether to work. In 1900, there were roughly 5 million women—about 20 percent of the total female population 14 years of age and older—in the labor force. By 1970, their number had increased to over 30 million, or about 40 percent of the female population and 38 percent of the labor force. Obviously, more women are now choosing to work.

Attitude Changes Needed

As the Ohio State studies show, such things as child care allowances and more and better day care centers would make the choice more workable for many women—especially the poor. Taken alone, however, these steps will not broaden the occupational vistas of working women. This will require changes—among women themselves and employers—in the attitudes and prejudices about jobs a woman properly can or should hold.

Offering more options in vocational education in the high schools, and in career education programs in earlier grades, may help make girls more aware of the possibilities now opening up to them. Changing attitudes about women also mean modifying behavior of parents and teachers, altering longstanding habits, and examining assumptions held for hundreds of years. It is a difficult process. But if such change can mitigate the underutilization of women in the labor force, it is indeed worth the effort. ☐

Search for Manpower Side Effects

by Timothy Larkin

Being a responsible father of two and having just passed the 40-year-old milestone when physical problems can multiply if not caught early, Allan Toole visited his family doctor for a physical examination. When Toole returned to learn the results of the examination, he was told that the blood test revealed a high cholesterol level—a condition that can lead to heart attacks and strokes. But fortunately, the doctor said, a new drug (triparanol) could reduce the body's production of cholesterol. After about a year of taking the drug, Toole noticed that the hair on his legs had disappeared. Soon the skin on his legs became so irritated that he had to wear cotton pajamas to protect them against the friction of his woolen trousers.

By January 1962, Toole was able to pluck hair off his arms and peel his skin off in little pieces. Although he stopped taking the drug that month, new symptoms continued to appear, the most frightening of which was a gradual fogging of his vision. To avoid blindness, Toole underwent two cataract operations, and for the rest of his life must wear the thick cataract glasses that compensate for the loss of his natural lenses.

In 1932, Canada celebrated the completion of the Welland Ship Canal that made it possible for large vessels to navigate the 326-foot difference in elevation between Lakes Erie and Ontario. The canal also made it possible for the sea lamprey, previously held back by the Niagara Falls barrier, to enter the

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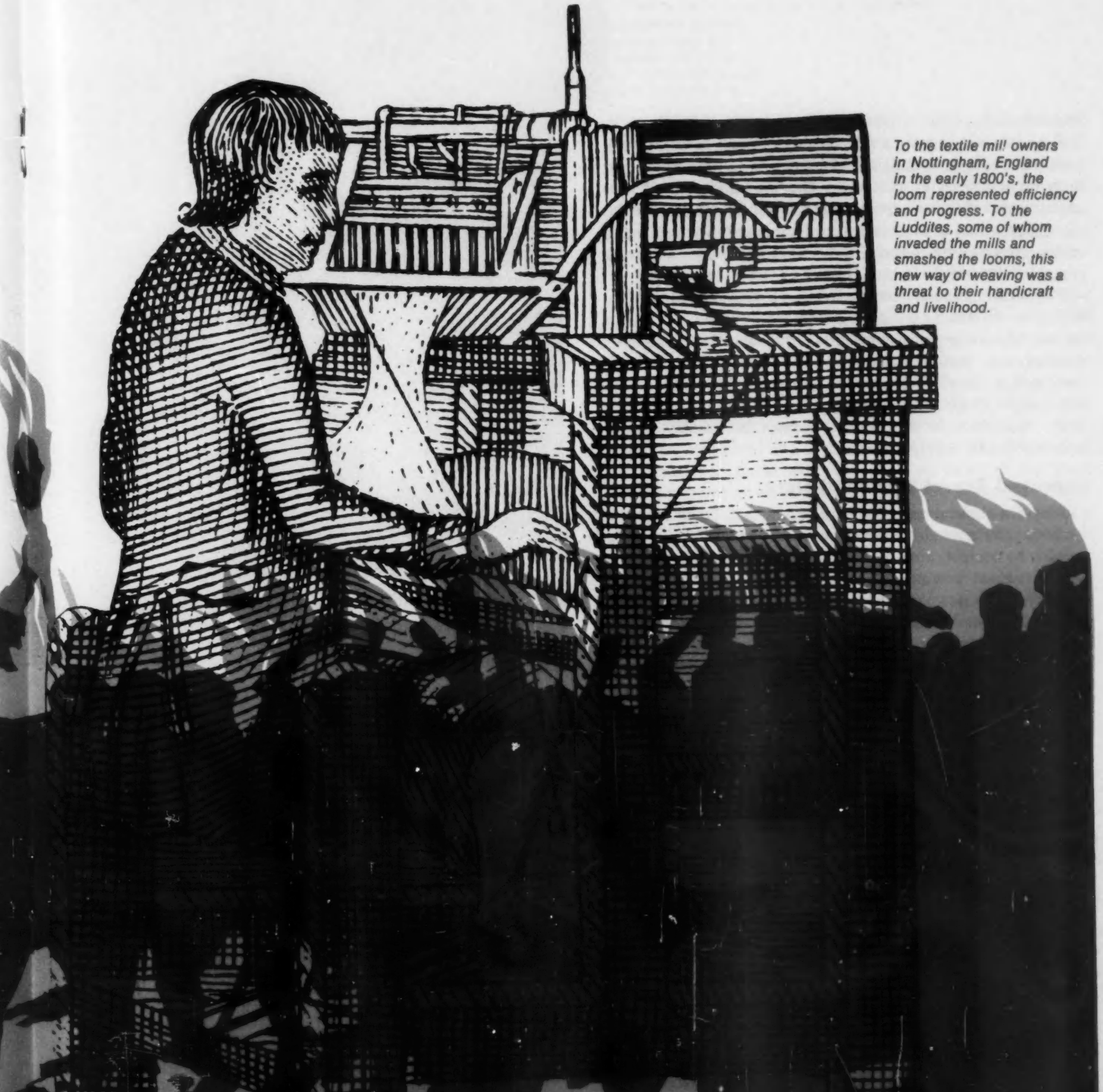


To the textile mill owners in Nottingham, England in the early 1800's, the loom represented efficiency and progress. To the Luddites, some of whom invaded the mills and smashed the looms, this new way of weaving was a threat to their handicraft and livelihood.

Side Effects

Mechanization of agriculture as well as various policies designed to influence or control the use of acreage have had a profound and often unanticipated impact on where Americans live and the kind of work they do.

Demand for manpower in the health occupations (below) skyrocketed after enactment of the Medicare and Medicaid programs.

Western Great Lakes. This fish-like animal which grows to 3 feet feeds by grasping a fish, drilling through its scales with a rasp-like tongue, and then sucking out its victim's blood and body fluids. Once this underwater Dracula attaches itself, it is almost impossible for a fish to shake it off. By the mid-thirties the lamprey had arrived in Lakes Huron and Michigan, and within 10 years the valuable lake trout and white fish were commercially extinct in those lakes.

For centuries cholera cut through India like a sinister scythe, killing an estimated 66 million people since 1765. The rest of the world was largely spared from this dreadful sickness—until the early part of the 18th century when it began to be all too familiar from the steppes of Russia to the banks of the Mississippi. Beginning in 1848 cholera pandemics moved from Asia through Europe to America at roughly 8-year intervals (1848, 1854, 1865, and 1873).

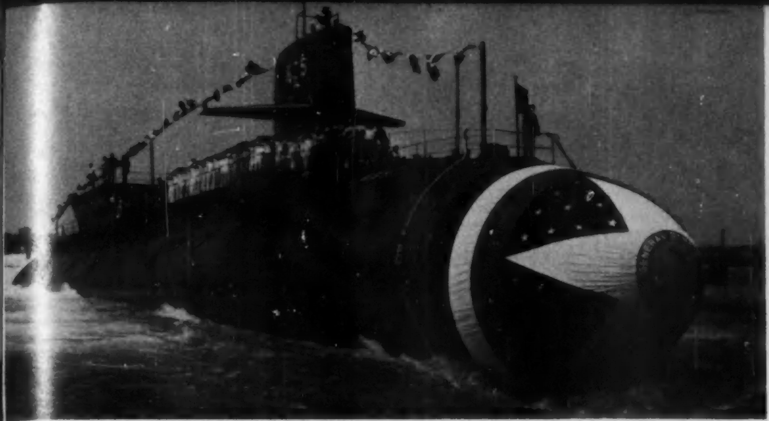
Improved Travel Spread Cholera

Why did cholera burst out of its home and breeding place in India and spread to other parts of the world? Cholera spreads by contact, through human carriers. But its incubation period is short and man is capable of passing it for only a few days. The slowness of travel between India and the rest of the world therefore formed an almost impenetrable wall against the emigration of the disease. But with the invention of the steam engine and its application to sea and land transport, this wall was breached. Soon cholera was a world traveler. The 1854 pandemic showed close correlation with river transport; the 1865 and 1873 outbreaks with railroad transport.

According to a February 1960 edition of the NEW YORK POST: "The slaying in Cohen's butcher shop at 164 E. 174th St. Monday night was no isolated incident, but the culmination of a series of burglaries and holdups along the street. . . . Ever since work started on the Cross-Bronx Expressway across the street some 2 years ago, a grocer said, trouble has plagued the area. . . . Stores which once stayed open to 9 or 10 o'clock are shutting down at 7 p.m. Few shoppers dare venture out after dark, so storekeepers feel the little business they lose hardly justifies the risk in remaining open late. . . ."

A drug victim, a canal in Canada, the cholora pandemics of the 19th century, one more dreary urban crime statistic. What, if anything, do they have in common?

There is, in fact, one feature common to all of these seemingly unrelated events. Each exemplifies an unintended, unwanted, and unanticipated side effect of an otherwise well-meant activity.



To develop a system for obtaining advance information on the impact of Government contracts on a local labor market area, the National Planning Association has made a study of the character and extent of employment generated by a $400 million Defense Department contract for nuclear submarine construction awarded to General Dynamics in Groton, Conn. Here the Glenard P. Lipscomb, one of the subs built by General Dynamics, slides into the Thames River following launching ceremonies.

The cataracts, hair loss, and skin disorders were side effects of a drug to help avoid arteriosclerosis. The extinction of trout and white fish was the side effect of a means of improving transportation by water; the spread of cholera, the side effect of a vastly improved form of transport by sea and land; the rise of crime near the now shadowy zone created by a new expressway, the side effect of an effort to reduce traffic congestion.

Since the first use of the word combination in the English language in 1884, the concept of "side effect" has come to play an increasingly important role in modifying our view of technological progress.

Perhaps more than any other nation in history, the United States uncritically accepted change as synonymous with progress. The Constitution makes progress one of our Nation's basic goals by giving to Congress the ". . . power to promote the progress of science and the useful arts." In recent years, however, our national love affair with change has been cooling rapidly, in large measure because so many well-intentioned changes have produced so many unpleasant surprises. As Willis W. Harmon of the Stanford Research Center said, "It is almost a truism that most of our severe social problems are essentially the consequence of our technological and industrial successes."

This new attitude toward change is shown in many ways: By the new "profession" of futurologists, men such as Herman Kahn who, to use Abraham Lincoln's phrase, concentrate on determining "whither we are tending"; by congressional reluctance to fund research and development at previous high levels despite that constitutional imperative; by new executive branch instruments for assaying change, such as the Office on Environmental Quality; and, most notably, by passage of the Technology Assessment Act of 1972.

This act is designed to give the Congress an independent way of dealing with technology and its implications, just as the Government Printing Office provides it with a way of controlling Government issue of printed data, and the General Accounting Office a way of monitoring the legality of expenditures made by the executive branch. Among the principal features of the Office of Technology Assessment, established by the new law, will be an early warning system, alerting Congress to the possible side effects—"second and third order consequences" as they are sometimes phrased—of new technology.

The French philosopher Auguste Compte had a motto that is particularly relevant to technology assessment: "See," Compte said, "in order to foresee; foresee in order to forestall." And this is precisely what the Office of Technology Assessment will seek to accomplish. The process of looking at innovations in order to foresee and forestall side effects can be applied in two ways. The Office of Technology Assessment will seek to discover the various and diverse side effects of particular innovations. But the method also can be "turned on its head" to help determine whether various and diverse innovations might have a particular kind of side effect.

One such application of the latter approach involves the impact of changing technology on the economic activity of human beings: In short, to the impact of innovation on the Nation's manpower. That innovation affects manpower is ceratinly neither profound nor new. Indeed, it has been obvious since the invention of the wheel. The Luddites who rampaged through the Nottingham textile mills in 1811, smashing the looms and stocking frames that threatened their handicraft and livelihood, needed no reminder of the effect of new technology on manpower. The 1962 Manpower Development and Training Act itself was largely designed out of a concern about the manpower effect of accelerated technological change.

But unemployment and underemployment stemming from technological change are direct results, not side effects, of innovation. What about manpower dislocations that are true side effects—unanticipated, unsought, unwanted results of particular innovations? Specifically, is there any way to isolate, to predict, and to prevent—to see, foresee, and forestall—negative manpower results of otherwise well-intentioned Government policy?

Farm Policy Linked to Urban Migration

Examples abound of Government policies and programs that have failed to produce the desired result, or in which the desired result has generated unforeseen and undesirable consequences in presumably unrelated areas. One of the most obvious is the relation of farm policy to urban and rural manpower problems. For four decades the Federal Government has been seeking the laudable goal of raising farm income. Numerous measures to achieve this end were initiated, including incentive payments to farmers who limit acreage in specified crops, tax arrangements favoring corporate farming, and payments for letting productive land lie fallow in the "soil bank."

When this policy began in the 1930's, there were over 10 million agricultural workers—20 percent of the labor force. Within 20 years the number had dropped to 7.2 million—12 percent of the labor force. In mid-1973 the figure had declined

Side Effects

How do the programs of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration affect the Nation's manpower picture? The Bureau of Labor Statistics—under contract with the Manpower Administration—is seeking ways to find the answer to this and similar questions about major Government programs.

still further, to less than 3.5 million, or about 4 percent of the labor force.

This decline resulted from many causes, among them the substitution of capital for labor stimulated by the various subsidy programs. And since such programs were based on real estate and produce rather than people, the larger farms naturally secured the bulk of the Federal funds.

By employing more capital, such farms became even more efficient producers while, relatively, the efficiency of the smaller farms declined. Farming became a highly technical business, farms were transformed into factories in the fields, and many small farmowners and many farm laborers found themselves being plowed under by the machinery of an agricultural corporation.

Hence, there has been a vast emigration from the farm, with profound effects on the economy and quality of life of thousands of rural communities. As described by South Dakota Farmers Union President Ben H. Radcliffe in hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Monopoly, "You can drive almost anywhere in the rural areas and see the results of our failure to weigh social consequences in determining our economic objectives: The weathered, abandoned farmhouse, a curtain flapping through a broken window; the soaped-up plate glass of the store front with the closed sign taped to the door; the weeds standing tall around the vacant service station; and the growing ratio of older people on our main streets. . . ."

At the other end, there has been a vast immigration to the Nation's urban centers with perhaps even more profound impact. Thus, the manpower side effects of 40 years of Federal agricultural policy were immense, but were not considered in designing that policy.

Ways Sought to Assess Manpower Impact

As stated in the 1972 Manpower Report of the President, many other Government policies have also produced unanticipated but significant manpower side effects. The combination of low-cost loans for middle-income housing underwritten by the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration and Federal aid to expand and improve interstate highway systems have combined to help produce the flight of middle-income whites to the suburbs, the erosion of urban real estate tax resources, and the concentration of minorities (many of whom moved from rural areas due to the results of Federal agricultural policies) and the poor in central cities.

The major increase in Federal expenditures for health as a result of the 1965 Amendments to the Social Security Act that established Medicare and Medicaid resulted in inflationary demands on the inadequate and slowly increasing supply of critical medical manpower.

It was this perception of the powerful—and growing—impact of Federal policies and programs on manpower that caused the President in March 1972 to direct the Secretary of Labor to seek out methods for assessing the manpower implications of Government policy, and "for assuring (that) the findings receive appropriate attention in the Government's decisionmaking process."

This effort to devise ways to assess manpower implications is now proceeding in the Department of Labor. It may well prove to be one of the most challenging and complicated tasks ever undertaken by the Department. For, while it is comparatively easy to determine the direct manpower effects of, say, the 1950 decision to move from two residential mail deliveries a day to one, it is far more difficult, though perhaps not less important, to assess the manpower implications of locating major mail processing centers outside the central cities. The effort to determine the manpower implications and side effects from seemingly unrelated policies, difficult enough in retrospect, presents staggering problems when undertaken to predict.

For side effects may be harmful or beneficial, permanent or temporary, widespread or limited, static or dynamic. They may also involve synergism, as well as time lag, trade-off, trigger, and threshold factors. And they are the end result of many interacting variables. For example some side effects, comparatively insignificant by themselves may, when combined, act synergistically to yield a total effect greater than that which would occur if the factors acted independently.

The time-lag factor appears clearly in the period between initiation of our national farm policy and the urban overcrowding and rural decay so apparent by the early 1960's. Time lag also is often reflected in the gap between early gains from an innovation, based on cost effectiveness studies, and the later disenchantment as hidden side-effect costs are revealed.

A stark, and short-term example of the kind of trade-off that often must be considered is seen in testimony on the pollution of Long Island Sound. The State of Connecticut found in 1970 that only one-quarter of the shoreline could be classified as safe for swimming. From a public health standpoint the beaches in those areas should have been closed. But because residents of cities near the beaches had no other convenient outdoor bathing to find relief from the summer heat in urban slum areas, the question became one of a trade-off between public health and public safety. As a witness phrased it, "It is a real problem what to do. The health official is faced with a calculated risk. Should he close the beach and incur the wrath of the people kept out? As an alternative to possible rioting the official can allow the beach to stay open and run the risk of having the swimming public become infected."

There also may be manpower instances of the operation of the threshold mechanism. Here a particular side effect is negligible or benign up to a point, beyond which it becomes serious and damaging. An example in the natural environment is the ability of rivers to accept a certain amount of sewage without damage, but with serious adverse effects if pollution accumulates beyond a certain point.

Yet another consideration in weighing the manpower side effects of Government policy is the trigger factor: A minor change in Government policy may trigger major manpower side effects by destroying the operating balance of an economic or social system.

Creation of Computer Models Suggested

Perhaps the most difficult task facing those responsible for seeking out ways to assess the manpower implications of Government policy is that many social systems appear to work counterintuitively. As Massachusetts Institute of Technology Professor Jay W. Forrester told a House Subcommittee on Urban Growth:

"It is my basic theme that the human mind is not adapted to interpreting how social systems behave. Our social systems belong to the class called multiloop nonlinear feedback systems. In the long history of evolution it has not been necessary for man to understand these systems until very recent historical times. Evolutionary processes have not given us the mental skill needed to properly interpret the dynamic behavior of the systems of which we have now become a part." It is for this reason, Dr. Forrester explained, that many Government programs prove to be ineffective, with results ranging from the unexpected to the opposite of what was desired.

To overcome this basic limitation of the human mind in dealing with the behavior of social systems, Forrester suggests the creation of computer models that would match the behavior of actual systems, models "far superior to the intuitive models in our heads on which we are now basing national social programs."

Perhaps the search for manpower side effects can be advanced through the creation of such models, though the models, being created by human beings, rather than supermen, will themselves involve certain limitations. But such procedures seem yet to lie in the future. The immediate problem facing the Department of Labor does not involve building the kind of mathematical models envisaged by Forrester. Rather, it must be determined what kinds of data already exist concerning the impact of governmental expenditures, and how best to retrieve such data and weigh the implications.

To advance the art of measuring manpower side effects, the Manpower Administration has undertaken a dual exploration. Through a contract with the National Planning Association (NPA), an effort is being made to develop a system for collecting advance information on the character and extent of employment generated in local areas by new Government contracts. Meanwhile, on the macro-economic level, the Manpower Administration has asked the Bureau of Labor Statistics to aid in finding ways to measure the nationwide manpower impacts of major Government programs and policies.

As an example of the kind of research being carried on by the NPA, a case study was made of a $400 million award by the Department of Defense to the Electric Boat Division of the General Dynamics Corporation in Groton, Conn. involving the construction of nuclear submarines. The findings of this initial study are encouraging in that they show that it is feasible to make advance projections of the impact of a major Government contract on manpower training and job opportunities.

Further study currently is being undertaken by NPA to provide more information relating to major nondefense procurement to help develop a procedural model to assess the impact of such contracts on the manpower needs of a community.

In regard to the manpower requirements generated on a nationwide basis by broad Government programs, the Bureau of Labor Statistics is looking at the direct and indirect manpower implications of Government programs such as those of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the National Institutes of Health, and the Veterans Administration.

In the absence of computer models to counterbalance man's inability to understand how our social systems behave, appropriate questions asked at the right points in the decisionmaking process can do much to help us take that first step toward the seeing that leads to foreseeing and, hopefully, forestalling at least some of the painful human costs of progress.

And the President's mandate to the Department of Labor is a clear signal that, at least in regard to manpower consequences, the Nation is getting ready to take that first step. ☐

Trainees Answer Police Call

Camden Skills Center Students Repair Old Cars for Use By Special Officers

When a call goes out for help, the police usually are on the receiving rather than the transmitting end. But in Camden, N.J., the usual process was reversed when the police department found it had 30 old cars in need of body repair.

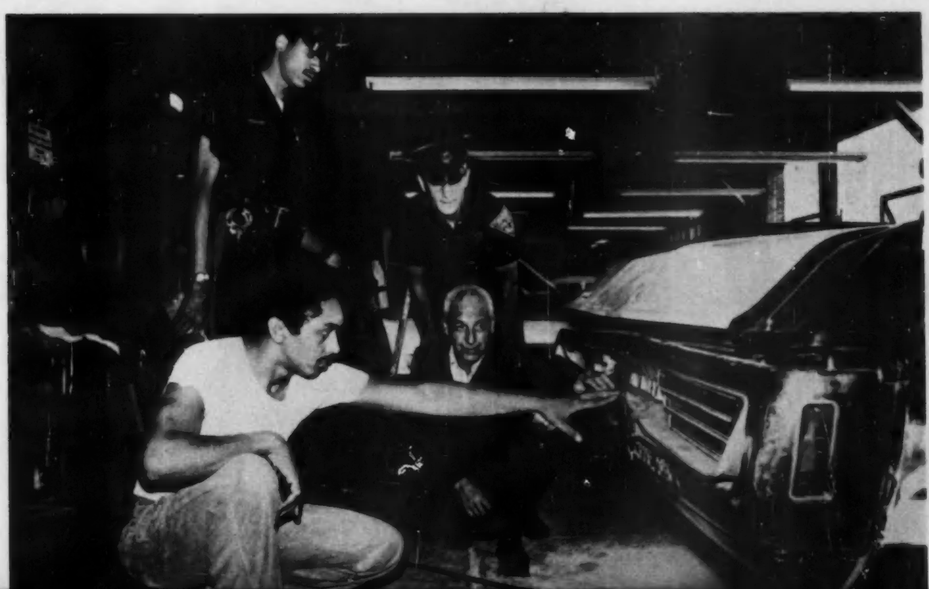
Sgt. Nelson Randolph, supervisor of the police garage, decided to call on the Camden MDTA (Manpower Development and Training Act) Center for help. Auto body is one of a dozen job training courses the center offers. Run by the Camden County Vocational and Technical Schools with funds from the U.S. Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, the center trains unemployed and underemployed people and veterans.

The outcome of Randolph's talk with center officials was an agreement that MDTA auto body trainees would handle the work free of charge if the police garage would provide materials and paint. The trainees are repairing an average of one car per week.

"These are basically cars that will be used for leading construction vehicles and some of the more routine department duties handled by our special police," said Randolph. "We have approximately 140 vehicles in the police department and the garage has the responsibility to keep them in top running order, so we appreciate the MDTA Center's help with the older cars."

Ben Schwartz, auto instructor at the center, said his trainees have eagerly accepted the project as an opportunity to gain practical experience and at the same time perform a service for the city.

"We regard it as one nonprofit agency helping another," he said. ☐



Trainee Angelo Ramos discusses the repair work he will do on a car belonging to the Camden police with instructor Ben Schwartz and two patrolmen.

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Minorities in the Employment Security Agencies

Employment of minorities by State employment security agencies has increased steadily since 1967. That was when the collection of data began on the results of affirmative action recruitment efforts by State agencies. Of about 94,800 persons now working full or part time in State agencies, 17,500 or 18 percent are minorities. In 1967, 12 percent of the 65,200 State agencies' employees were minorities.

Total employment by State agencies, which provide unemployment insurance, job placement and other employment services, and are subcontractors for various manpower training and work experience programs, rose 29,600 between 1967 and 1973. About 9,400 of the new workers—1 out of 3—are members of minority groups.

Blacks constitute the largest minority group among State agency personnel. There were 6,300 black State employment service workers in 1967; by 1973 there were 12,400. The number of Hispanic Americans increased from 1,000 in 1967 to 3,400 in 1973, raising their proportion on employment service staffs to 4 percent. Hispanos constitute an estimated 5 percent of the total U.S. population.

Since 1970, data have been collected on the occupations of minority workers in the employment service. The proportion of executive and managerial jobs held by minorities was 8 percent in 1970 and 9 percent in 1973. In both years, 6 percent of all these jobs were held by blacks and about 2 percent by Hispanic Americans.

The proportion of professional and technical jobs held by minorities rose from about 11 to 14 percent between 1970 and 1973. More minority employees, 6,800, were working at such jobs in 1973 than were in any other occupational group. Clerical and office occupations, with 5,800 minority persons, ranked second.

MINORITY EMPLOYMENT IN STATE EMPLOYMENT SECURITY AGENCIES BY OCCUPATION
1970 and 1973 (in thousands)

	All Occupations	Executive and Managerial	Professional and Technical	Aide - Auxiliary	Clerical and Office	Custodial and Service
All Employees						
1973	94.8	8.9	48.5	6.0	29.7	1.8
1970	74.6	8.7	36.8	4.0	23.5	1.6
Minority Employees						
1973	17.5	.8	6.8	3.1	5.8	.9
1970	11.9	.7	4.1	2.1	4.1	.9
Blacks						
1973	12.4	.5	4.4	2.2	4.4	.9
1970	8.7	.5	2.6	1.5	3.2	.8
Hispanic Americans						
1973	3.4	.2	1.6	.6	.8	.1
1970	1.9	.1	.9	.4	.5	.1

NOTE: Detail may not add to total because of rounding.

Words & Figures

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The New Immigrants

Study Shows Recent Arrivals Have High Skills and Strong Work Ethic

by David North and William Weissert

They were immigrants. They came to America in droves, but usually only to chosen sections of it: The seaboard ethnic ghettos close to ports of entry. With them they brought the trappings of their cultures, foreign tongues, and strange life styles. Most were young men without wives or families. They were workers: 80 percent of them were in the labor force. A strong need to achieve was their salient characteristic and it originated, often as not, in a dread fear of unemployment and poverty—perhaps even starvation—in a foreign and hostile land. No job was too lowly. Lacking vocational skills, they competed with other low-skilled workers for low-paid jobs. This was the picture of immigration to the United States early in this century.

It is no longer accurate. Recent immigrants are becoming virtually indistinguishable from other people in the U.S. in their work, places of residence, job capabilities, training, and wages. They often come with highly marketable voca-

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David North and William Weissert are associated, respectively, with Linton, Mields & Coston, Inc., and TransCentury Corporation, Washington consulting firms.

The great gateway into the U.S. once was Ellis Island, where these immigrants waited to be transferred to the mainland in 1912. From 1892 to 1943, about 20 million immigrants passed through the island's reception center. Now these facilities, no longer used, are part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument.

Immigrants

tional skills, and many have professional degrees and training. They bring their families, or they come because their families are already here. They range in age from childhood to the retirement years. They live where most of our native-born people live—in the 9 or 10 largest urban areas—and they work at trades that range the labor market spectrum.

It no longer takes immigrants two generations to be assimilated into our culture and to achieve equity. Now, if they are victimized by underemployment on arrival here, they are likely to pull themselves up to jobs more in line with their training and experience in a year or so. Only difficulty with the English language is likely to keep them down.

The impact of the immigrant upon the U.S. labor market no longer is as great as it was at the turn of the century. Still, given the fact that our present immigration system was designed with only the most indirect reference to labor market needs, the impact is more significant than we may have realized.

These are among the findings in a large-scale study[1] of recent immigrants to this country which was done under contract and funded by the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration. The purpose of the study was to learn what skills today's immigrants are bringing with them, whether they are able to use their talents and training after they get here, and how these new arrivals affect our labor market.

Results indicate that today's immigrants are a new breed, coming through the door opened by 1965 amendments to the Immigration Act. These amendments wiped out the ethnocentric aspects of the old immigration law and created a new system aimed at reuniting families, obtaining needed skills, and permitting the entrance of some refugees.

Five thousand persons in nine States with the largest immigrant population formed the study group in the research for the Manpower Administration. All were new immigrants in fiscal year 1970, and all were between the ages of 18 and 59 when they came. Data were drawn from two Immigration and Naturalization Service documents for each immigrant—the visa application filed a year or two before arrival in the U.S., and the alien registration card filed in 1972. About 100 immigrants were interviewed to check the accuracy of a few key data items, and about 200 employers were interviewed to find out about immigrant wages, how immigrants performed on the job, their turnover rates, their wages, and the extent to which they worked in what have long been regarded as typical immigrant jobs.

Most Have Relatives Here

In 1970, this Nation of more than 200 million people admitted 373,326 immigrants, a total that has remained about the same for the last 4 fiscal years. These immigrants entered a far more populous society than their predecessors early in the century, when more than 1 million immigrants annually entered a nation of about 80 million people.

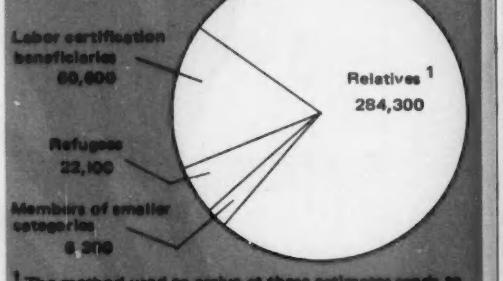
More than three-quarters of the 1970 contingent came in as relatives, with the rest entering as labor certification beneficiaries (aliens certified by the U.S. Department of Labor for employment in skill shortage areas and under conditions which will not adversely affect U.S. workers), refugees, or members of smaller categories such as persons who served the U.S. Government overseas (see chart 1).

Traditionally, estimates of the numbers of immigrants who join our labor force have been made using statements on visa applications rather than information on what immigrants actually do after they arrive here. The present study, using both visa and postentry data on immigrants, indicates that these estimates have been wrong. And the margin of error has been sizable. The researchers found that nearly 78 percent of the adult 1970 immigrants studied were in the labor force 2 years after they entered the country, rather than the 63 percent anticipated on the basis of visa applications.

Each year, immigrants now make up about 12 percent of the increase in the labor force. In other words, every year 1 out of 8 additional workers is an immigrant. While this is significant by itself, it is more so because immigrants are not distributed evenly around the country. Since they tend to live near the seacoasts, and they tend to gather in certain States and in urban areas, their impact on some of our central cities is even greater.

Arriving immigrants have made up a large part of the growth in the labor force in San Francisco and Washington, D.C.; in Chicago and Detroit, they have helped slow the labor force decline, replacing some of the workers going to the suburbs; and in New York City, except for immigrants, the labor force would have

Chart 1
Immigrants to the United States by Category 1970 (Estimates)



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The study for the Manpower Administration found that a principal reason why immigrants make a much larger impact on the U.S. labor force than was previously supposed is that many immigrant wives work. Although 61 percent of the women in the study group listed their occupation as "housewife" or "student" on visa applications, there was a complete turnaround in these numbers 2 years later, when 62 percent listed a wage-earning occupation.

Upon arrival in the U.S., immigrants are more likely than Americans generally to be professionals, craftsmen, or domestic servants. Their occupational mix, however, is now closer to the U.S. norm than it was earlier in the century. Then, the immigrant was far more likely to be an unskilled worker: In 1910, nearly two-thirds were nonfarm laborers or farmworkers (see chart 2). Today, immigrant workers must be regarded as candidates for all jobs in the U.S. labor market, the researchers found.

Furthermore, the drift toward the U.S. occupational norm becomes even more pronounced as, after arrival, immigrant women tend to move out of work as domestics and into better jobs, and as many professionals of both sexes are forced to shift to nonprofessional jobs because of difficulties in meeting licensing and other work requirements.

Presumably, there should be less job changing among labor certification holders since they come to the U.S., not as relatives, but as workers in occupations with skill shortages. However, the researchers learned that there is substantial occupational movement in this group in the first 2 years after arrival. Not only do most certification holders change their occupations—nearly 57 percent—but a number who stay in the same kind of work move across county lines, suggesting that they take jobs with new employers. In a sample of about 1,100 labor certification beneficiaries, less than a third were in the same occupation in the same county 2 years after coming to the U.S.

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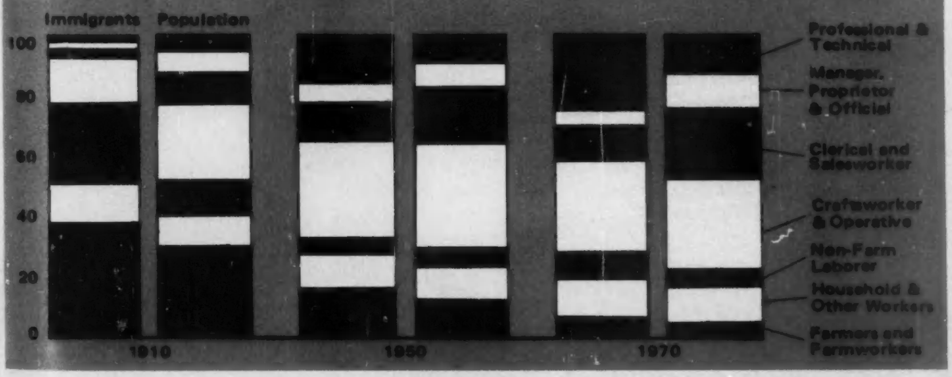
Chart 2

Occupations of Immigrants and of U. S. Population—1910-1970 (Percent)



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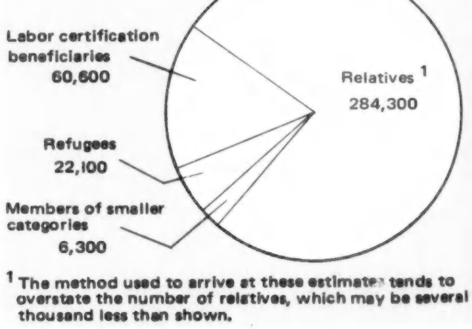

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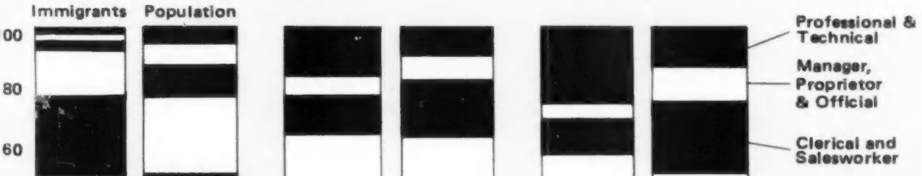

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Immigrants used to come to the U.S. by the boatload; now they often arrive by plane, individually or in small groups, at such places as New York's Kennedy International Airport (below) and Seattle-Tacoma Airport (right).

are at least as good as the positions they held in their native land are more likely than other certification holders to stay in the same jobs. People who downgraded their skill levels to get into this country tend to move out of their jobs as soon as possible to get work more in line with their capabilities.

A principal concern expressed by critics of the labor certification program is that, although the purpose is to meet certain skill shortages, there is no way to guarantee that the newly admitted worker will not change his occupation shortly after arrival, the report to the Manpower Administration points out. However, an alternative—to require that immigrants with labor certifications stay in a specified job or occupation for a stipulated time—has been criticized by others as smacking of indentured servitude.

Most immigrants arrive in the U.S. with immigrant status. But the study notes that a growing minority arrives as nonimmigrants—aliens in such categories as tourist, student, and exchange visitor—and, without leaving the Nation, converts to immigrant status. The number of adjustees, as these persons are called, rose from 8.2 percent of all immigrants in 1969 to 23.2 percent in 1972.

How well do immigrants adjust to life in the U.S. labor force? Chiefly through interviews, the researchers explored a number of aspects of this process.

Persons making the best adjustment, the researchers decided, have the best grasp of English. Among immigrants who were interviewed, there were great variations in English speaking ability. Some spoke fluent, some spoke flawless English; still others had learned little or nothing about our language in 2 years. There was a high correlation between the amount of education immigrants had before they came to the U.S. and their command of the English language.

Immigrants find jobs, particularly their first jobs, through an ethnic grapevine, the study reports. However, professionals use more formal and direct routes to get work. They contact an organization they want to work for, respond to ads, or transfer from one job to another within a multinational business framework.

The immigrants who were interviewed liked life in the United States, particularly its economic aspects. Even though many immigrants were working beneath their skill levels, virtually all were earning far more than they earned at home. What's more, they showed every sign of the classic immigrant drive for success. This was indicated by their statements, their job changes, and employers' reports on their work. The report notes, however, that immigrants are not a random sample of any population. They are people with enough drive and determination to leave family, friends, and native culture to seek their fortunes in a strange land.

Recommendations Listed

Several recommendations regarding immigrants are made in the study:

- Future revisions of the immigration law should be made with regard for labor market implications even though on the surface there may not appear to be any significant labor market relationships with such changes.
- Consideration should be given to adopting a more flexible system to govern the number of immigrants entering the country. Under this system, more persons would be admitted in prosperous times and fewer when the economy is in a recession. Currently, there are no such flexibilities built into our immigration system, and the number of immigrants varies little from year to year.
- Changes in the labor certification program should be considered. One is the denial of certification to persons who work illegally in the U.S. and who seek to become adjustees by applying for immigrant status. In addition, the program might be more effective if the U.S. Department of Labor were to prepare, from time to time, lists of depressed areas, overcrowded occupations, and prohibited employers (those guilty of serious wage-hour violations, and the like). Certification might then be done by the U.S. consular service, using these data. This would supplant the massive paperwork system now in use by the Labor Department.
- To enable immigrants to make full use of their skills, and thus make a maximum contribution to the Nation, there should be adequate programs offering such services as English training, career counseling, help with licensing, and other job-related aids.
- Action should be taken to eliminate artificial job barriers erected by certain licensure requirements and the like which prevent us from making full use of immigrants' professional knowledge and abilities.

For nearly two generations before adoption of the Immigration Amendments of 1965, people who were concerned about immigration to the United States focused on the inequities of the system then in force. (The country of origin quotas being used favored people who sought entry from some areas of the world and virtually barred others.) This concentration of concern was understandable, and it worked. The 1965 law wiped out the ethnocentric aspects of the old immigration system and created a new system permitting the reunion of families, the obtaining of needed skills, and the entrance of some refugees. By and large, labor market considerations played a relatively secondary role, as subsequent experience shows.

In the study for the Manpower Administration, however, it is clear that our

Late in the last century, when these Bohemian cigarmakers worked in their homes in New York City, most immigrants were laborers and only a few had much formal education. The pendulum has swung in the other direction—today's immigrants have a higher percentage of skilled people than does the U.S. population as a whole.

Immigrants from Western Hemisphere countries are subject to an annual ceiling of 120,000 persons with no per-country limit and no preference system. Maria Rodriguez came here from Ecuador, obtained her citizenship, and now works for the Federal Government.

present immigration law has a profound effect on the labor characteristics of immigrants. The specific categories for immigration which were established by the Congress produce immigrants with predictable demographic and occupational characteristics, although this was not the intent when these categories were established. For example, the provision allowing the entry of immediate relatives of U.S. citizens (spouses, children, and parents of adult citizens) produces a group of immigrants of whom two-thirds are women with a middling order of skills.

Immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere are much more likely to be professionals than those from the Western Hemisphere, researchers learned.

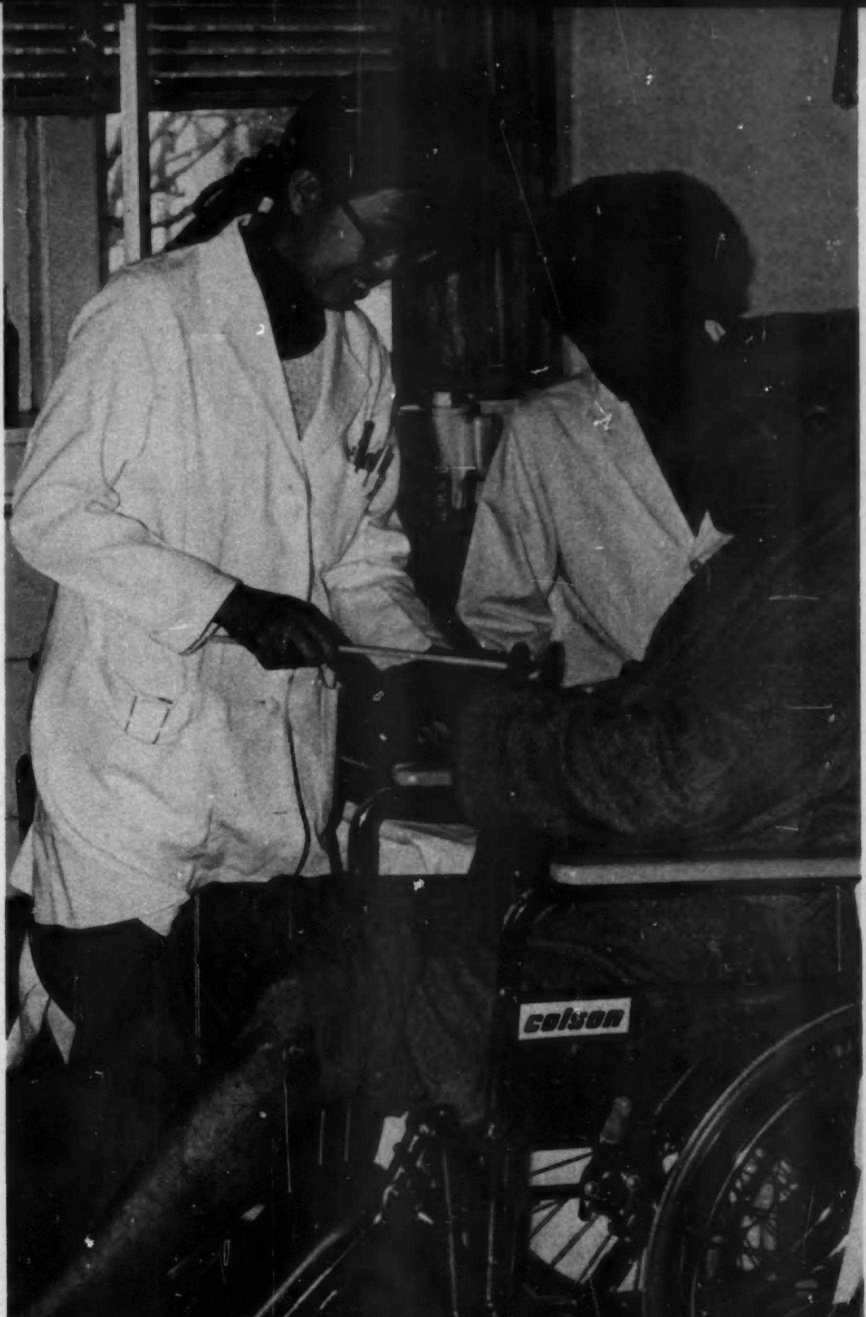
Labor Force Impact Cited

Workers entering because they have needed skills are more likely to be in their thirties, more likely to be males and professionals, and less likely to be married than other adult immigrants.

Not only were immigrants found to be a more significant proportion of the labor force than was previously thought, but the proportion may become greater if our birthrate continues to drop while the number of immigrants stays about the same.

Immigrants are one of the more controllable factors in the labor market, however. With immigrants, the Government can take immediately effective steps to add or subtract people from the labor force, or to increase or decrease the number of persons with particular skills.

The study concludes that all of these factors should be weighed carefully as we face the prospect of a thorough review of the Immigration Amendments of 1965, which changed old patterns of immigration and which have now been in effect long enough to have created a history of their own. □



About one-fifth of the practicing physicians and one-third of the hospital interns and residents in the United States are graduates of foreign medical schools, according to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Here a neurologist from Thailand who is taking her residency at George Washington University Medical Center in Washington, D.C. performs a reflex test on a patient.

Book Reviews

A Dash Too Much of Color

Sweatshops in the Sun
by Ronald B. Taylor
Beacon Press, Boston, 1973. 212 pages, $6.95.

Children working in crops is as old as agriculture. It is difficult to convince the general public of the negative aspects of this work, however, unless the situation is emotionalized. Perhaps this is because a large percentage of the American adult population, both rural and urban, have childhood memories of mowing a lawn or working in a garden or field. The work may have been done as part of a family which owned or rented land, or as a means of assisting with family support or school expenses. Today, children working in the fields on commercial farms are weighed in the adult mind against children wandering aimlessly through the streets — and the former are seen in a positive light. This is one of the misconceptions exposed in *Sweatshops in the Sun*.

The book—an examination of migrant child labor on the farm—contains much valuable factual material. But in places it is rather thin unless the reader has a good grasp of the total agriculture picture. Author Ronald Taylor tries to cover too much ground. He speaks of three States in the preface and refers to 16 in the text. It is this global aspect, the many generalities, and the lack of constructive suggestions that weaken the book.

Taylor portrays vividly and realistically the experiences of child farmworkers and their families. It is when he generalizes from these personal experiences that the book falters. Then he ceases to be a reporter and, instead, often uses his knowledge of language to color his material and to give it a more negative connotation than necessary. In the long run, this charged language can only strain relations among the individuals, groups, and organizations whose cooperation is needed to cope with the problems the book enumerates.

One example is the statement, "Some of the parents send their children to school and work them after they return in the midafternoon." The phrase "work them" carries a meaning—to cause or force to work, as to work a farm animal. It does not connote a sense of family responsibility. At another point Taylor says, "they (the children) are used by their parents, exploited by farmers, left unprotected by the government." While it is true some parents in all social classes use their children for their own gain, nothing is accomplished by implying that all parents who are migrant farmworkers use their children, or that all farmers exploit children in their fields.

Taylor not only is critical of parents and farmers, but he interprets federally funded efforts to train youth in farm equipment operation as an attempt to cut farm labor costs. This rests on the assumption that these youth will work for less than adults. Whatever validity this contention may have, it applies to all types of work for which youth are trained, not just farm jobs.

There is no way to justify the failure to enforce existing laws for the protection of children, and *Sweatshops in the Sun* makes this point very well. It would be more helpful, however, if in addition to his criticisms he had suggested how, for example, the Manpower Administration's Rural Manpower Service could more adequately meet the needs of the migrant child. Or, if he believes that the Rural Manpower Service should be abolished, what sort of program should take its place? A fuller development of the last chapter dealing with measures to get children out of farmwork would have been most useful.

Moreover, getting the children out of the fields is by no means a complete solution. Once they are out, what will be available to them in the way of education, day care, recreation, medical care, and other essential services? These and other crucial questions are left unanswered by *Sweatshops in the Sun*.

Myrtle Reul

Skeptical Papers

Manpower Programs in the Policy Mix
Edited by Lloyd Ulman
The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1973. 165 pages, $8.50.

If you have gotten a bit out of touch with the economics of manpower policy, this slim, readable volume will help you catch up. It contains five essays on the uses and abuses of manpower training and related policy instruments, with a summary-introduction by the volume's editor, Lloyd Ulman.

The first two essays deal with manpower policy as a tool for reconciling the conflicting goals of low unemployment and price stability—moving the Phillips curve to the left. In the first paper, "Some Macroeconomic Aspects of Manpower Policy," R. A. Gordon reviews the reasons for the inflation-unemployment dilemma, discusses frictional and structural unemployment, and notes what might be done about them. He points to the increasing disparity of unemployment rates by age and sex, which appears to have made the inflation-unemployment dilemma worse, and tries to estimate how much manpower programs have helped to make it better.

Gordon freely admits that "no overall study exists that would permit one to say by how much, if at all, manpower programs in the United States have reduced the overall unemployment rate below what it would have been in the absence of such programs." He is brave enough, however, to venture the informed guess that "the net macroeconomic effect of manpower policy thus far has been slight" and that, despite the manpower programs of the 1960's, the inflation-unemployment dilemma remains more acute than it was a decade ago.

In the second essay, "Manpower Policies to Reduce Inflation and Unemployment," Charles C. Holt and others offer a more detailed model of a segmented labor market in which high job turnover and low search efficiency on the part of workers produce wage inflation while unemployment is still substantial. They offer an array of policies to correct the problem: Better matching of jobs and seekers, special efforts to reduce unemployment of young people, ways to alleviate skill shortages and to break down the geographical and institutional barriers that impede the matching of workers and jobs.

In "Redistributional Aspects of Manpower Training Programs," Lester C. Thurow addresses a different problem, the potentialities of manpower policy for eliminating poverty and reducing black-white income differentials. He points out that these goals are ill served by policies that focus on the unemployed, since unemployment is not a major source of differences in income between blacks and whites or even poor and nonpoor families. Given limited funds for manpower training, Thurow advises "creaming," upgrading the skills of blacks and other low-income people who already have jobs (and hence a demonstrated capacity for work effort) and are most likely to move across the poverty line and up the income ladder. He is emphatic, however, that manpower policy is useless by itself. Success requires, among other things, a tight labor market and a frontal attack on institutional racism.

A rather thin essay by Sar Levitan, "Manpower Programs for a Healthier Economy," reviews the history of Federal manpower train-

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ing efforts of the past decade and leaves the reader skeptical about their effectiveness. Levitan concludes, however, that "the relatively short experience with manpower programs during the 1960's must be viewed as experimental; hence, the heretofore limited success of these tools does not preclude reliance on them in the future."

The volume closes with an interesting paper by Rudolf Meidner and Rolf Andersson, "The Overall Impact of an Active Labor Market Policy in Sweden," which echoes the agnostic tone of the rest of the book. Despite spectacularly low unemployment rates (by U.S. standards) and generally unfrightening inflation in Sweden, Meidner and Andersson give little evidence that the credit should be attributed to the substantial Swedish expenditure on manpower programs.

In sum, this collection of papers dramatizes the current dilemma of the manpower policymaker. There are all kinds of reasons why manpower policies ought to be useful in pursuing a variety of national objectives—higher employment, less inflation, racial equity, and greater equality in the distribution of income—but precious little evidence that they really are.

Alice M. Rivlin

Starting From Zero

Job Power: Blue and White Collar Democracy

by David Jenkins

Doubleday & Company, New York, 1973. 375 pages, $8.95.

"The impression has begun to get around," writes David Jenkins, "that the Industrial Revolution is not going to work out after all." In *Job Power*, he identifies what he sees as its most significant defect—an authoritarian, hierarchal organization of work—and he proposes a remedy: Industrial democracy.

What is industrial democracy? The author defines it as the diffusion of decisionmaking power throughout an organization. In traditional work organizations, workers relay information up through the bureaucracy and management passes decisions back down. Under industrial democracy, decisions are reached at the lowest level possible. Jenkins' thesis is that this decentralization of power results in greater worker satisfaction and involvement and higher productivity and higher profits.

The case Jenkins makes for democracy at the workplace is based on 2 years of research in Europe and the United States. Although he attempts to provide a balanced account, his enthusiasm occasionally leads him into apparent contradictions. On the whole, however, the book provides an informative and highly readable report of a significant development in work organization.

Jenkins traces the evolution of the anti-work syndrome that he finds characterizes advanced nations, whether capitalist, socialist, or communist. He places considerable responsibility on Frederick Taylor and his disciples in scientific management, whose concept of a "single best way" to perform every task produced the authoritarian hierarchal organization that is typical today, an organization in which managers make decisions and workers perform overly simplified tasks. Jenkins is less interested in the redesign of jobs than in industrial democracy, which provides a mechanism for workers to participate on a continuing basis in decisions on job design, goal setting, and other matters of substance.

The author notes an almost universal desire on the part of workers for the freedom, control, and self-actualization possible under industrial democracy. He describes the kibbutz in Israel, self-management in Yugoslavia, and codetermination in West Germany as "primitive" types of industrial democracy. The Scandinavian countries provide examples of a more advanced form that Jenkins sees as a model: A merger of industrial democracy with the sociotechnical systems developed by the Tavistock Institute of London, systems which consider both technical and human needs, with neither paramount.

As for the United States, Jenkins reluctantly observes that "it is difficult not to notice that . . . interest (in worker democracy) is just about zero." He is puzzled that this is so, in the face of a "knowledge of organizations unmatched in any other country"—knowledge which he says suggests that democratic management methods "are far superior." Among the explanations he offers for the lack of interest here is the "brutality of economic life in America," "the swiftness with which mass layoffs are carried out," and "the low level of assistance to those in need." Under these circumstances, pay and benefits are of higher priority than self-actualization.

Jenkins seeks to allay the concern of those readers who may feel threatened by what he calls this new stage of the industrial revolution. It is not, he argues, a threat to capitalism (stockholders already have ceded their power to the corporate bureaucracy) nor to managerial control (real control is increased because workers become involved and committed). Nor does he see it as a threat to unions. He covers in some detail the support industrial democracy has from central labor organizations in Europe and discounts the arguments of U.S. labor leaders that the special nature of collective bargaining in the United States makes further freedom unnecessary for American workers. Jenkins sees evidence of a possible awakening interest in worker democracy in the union leadership of this country, notably in the United Automobile Workers.

Jenkins feels that the progress of industrial democracy can, and should, be speeded up in the United States through legislation. He suggests that worker representation be required on boards of directors in order to create a mechanism for attaining direct industrial democracy. His analogy with the effect of civil rights legislation in the 1960's in creating favorable conditions for changing racial attitudes overlooks the strong support for civil rights that led up to that legislation.

The book provides some documentation on the results of industrial democracy, but readers are likely to want more hard data. A 5-year study on the relation between profits and management styles (Inter-Company Longitudinal Studies, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan) to which the author refers will provide some further information in another 2 years. In the meantime, *Job Power* should encourage the public debate of industrial democracy for which its proponents are eager.

Janice Neipert Hedges

The Reviewers

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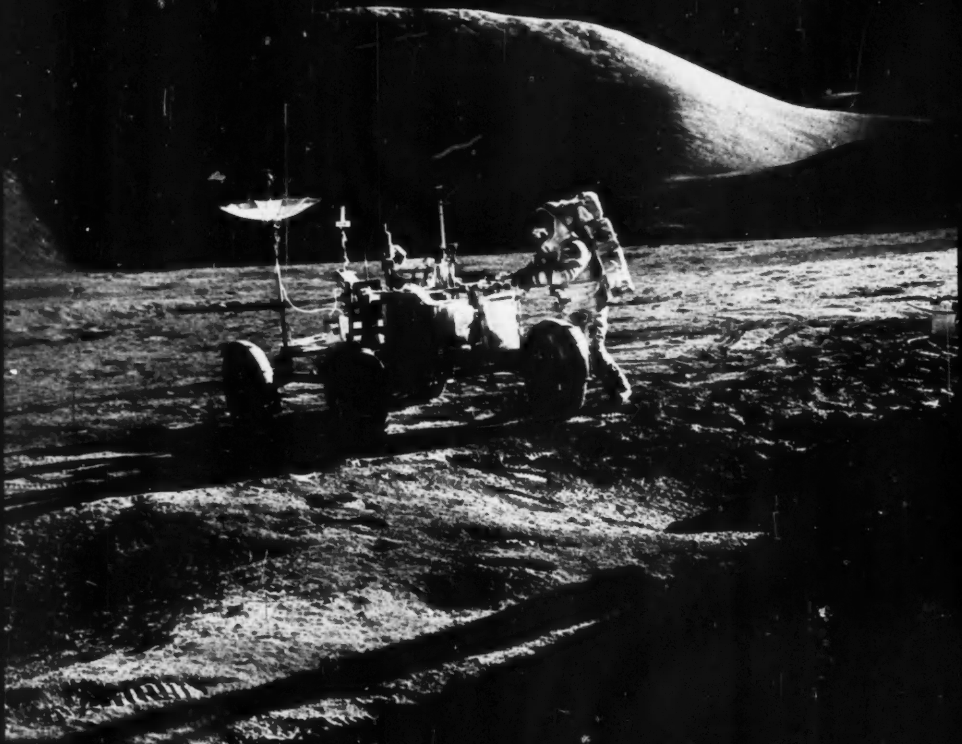

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